

Politics on the Stage in Washington

By Carter Field

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WASHINGTON, November 2.

PEACE and politics occupied almost all the attention of the Capitol this week. The two subjects were not unrelated, since the Republicans, struggling for control of the two houses of Congress at the election next Tuesday, have virtually taken their issues for the campaign out of the peace terms laid down by President Wilson.

Just prior to the appeal made by the President for a House and Senate of his own party there had been a period of really remarkable lack of political activity. It is true that under the surface the politicians of both parties, and particularly, of course, the candidates for Congress and for state offices, were doing all that they could to insure the success of themselves and their party associates. Tons of speeches and literature were being mailed out broadcast in the hope of influencing the voters. But there was a restraint, brought about by the war, which was most unusual for October of a Congressional election year.

This was accentuated by two added circumstances, the Liberty Loan campaign, which did not close until October 19, and the epidemic of Spanish influenza, which from one end of the country to the other resulted in public meetings being taboo. In many states the congregation of as many as twelve persons was forbidden.

Then came the President's appeal, asserting that no scruple of good taste, at such a time as this, should forbid plain speaking—and the lid was off. Since that time the political pot has boiled, and the oldtime politicians on both sides have genuinely welcomed the lapse back to former methods. The President himself has been attacked as he has not been at any time since the 1912 election, or since before this country entered the war.

But out of it all has come one clear point, which every one here hopes will be emphasized not only in Great Britain, France and Italy, but in Germany, and that is that there is no division of sentiment about the prosecution of the war. There is a division with regard to peace aims, but there is no division as to the vigorous movement of troops to Europe, and no proposal by any one to slow up any of the war activities.

In brief, in a time when there is every sort of opportunity for the practical politician, when it might be thought that there is every shade of public opinion which might be appealed to with public office as the reward of the shrewdest political guesser, no one is guessing that the people want peace before Germany is forced to accept peace terms that are entirely satisfactory.

The country has demonstrated so forcibly in the last month that it is eager for Germany to be fought to a standstill and until she is ready to surrender unconditionally that no politician has thought she could profit by making an appeal to the hitherto supposedly large pacifist element. On the other hand, men whose war records have not been satisfactory, in both parties, have been defeated in widely removed states.

The obvious thing, it is pointed out, for a minority party to do when a majority party is conducting a war is to oppose the war at the ensuing election. This has happened three times in American history. But this time the party out of power has contented itself with drawing up a platform for the war and for the peace terms which is more sweeping than that laid down by President Wilson.

The Republican party has been absolutely committed by its leaders to unconditional surrender and a dictated, not a negotiated peace.

Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, while in this country counted heavily on the political strength of the pacifist element. It has virtually disappeared.

One of the big events of the week was the making public of the long awaited Hughes report, made by former Supreme Court Justice Charles E. Hughes, the Republican candidate for President in 1916, on the aircraft expenditures and delays. The report shows some waste, some errors in judgment and some very flamboyant press agent work by the aircrafters, but it removes, in the general opinion of the Capitol, the ugly suspicions which had been entertained by many on worse things.

Perhaps the big surprise of the report was an attack on Henry Ford, the automobile manufacturer, who tried to get the European armies "out of the trenches by Christmas" early in the war, and who is now running for the Senate in Michigan. Ford was criticized in the report for not removing Germans from confidential work on the drafting of plans for the Liberty motor.

American shipworkers were given assurances this week by both Chairman Hurley and Director General Schwab, of the Shipping Board, that the shipbuilding industry of the United States was to be no war or emergency project to be abandoned at the conclusion of the war. On the contrary, the chiefs of the Shipping Board declared the United States will be "absorbingly interested" for years in the construction and operation of ocean tonnage.

Keeping his pledge to relax the domestic sugar regulations at the earliest possible moment, Herbert C. Hoover has sent orders to all state food administrators permitting an increase to three pounds of sugar monthly for each person, beginning November 1. For several months households and public eating establishments have been limited to two pounds a person a month.

Following an extensive investigation of wage conditions in the anthracite industry, the fuel administration has approved increases averaging 81 a day for the anthracite miners. This will stabilize wage conditions in the anthracite fields with reference to both the bituminous and other related industries, and will prevent the recent drift of large numbers of anthracite workers to other employment.

The Twilight of the Gods Sets on Germany

THE most astounding news of the week from Germany was the downfall of Ludendorff, the man who had come to stride the German world like a Colossus. Unheard-of at the beginning of the war, he early became known as a satellite of the brighter star, Hindenburg, to whom he was assigned as chief of staff when Hindenburg set forth to drive the Russians from East Prussia. In course of time, however, Ludendorff came to dominate the entire German horizon, both military and political; and the Junker elements, right in the midst of the recent political overturn at Berlin, were even looking to him to declare a dictatorship to save the country and their precious selves.

The fall of Ludendorff is one of the most promising of recent occurrences in Germany. Why was the powerful usurper overthrown? The cabled reports of the week mentioned only that his resignation followed a quarrel in an interview with the new Chancellor, Prince Maximilian. From this hint, particularly in connection with the incidents surrounding Hertling's overthrow, it is easy to guess what happened at the interview between the two men. From a study of the German newspapers down to October 10 it is possible to believe that Maximilian announced to Ludendorff that a new regime now exists in Germany, under which the military must take its orders from the civil government, and that Ludendorff refused to submit.

That conclusion is warranted by the fact that the movement to which Hertling succumbed was aimed chiefly at the usurping military power. Hertling fell because he had proved too weak to withstand the encroachments of Ludendorff and the local military governors upon the functions of the civil government. The members of the Reichstag, made wise by long and sad experience, had at last resolved to create a strong government, responsible to the Reichstag rather than to the Kaiser, which would keep the army officers within their purely military functions.

The "German Revolution" began with the meeting of the Main Committee of the Reichstag on Tuesday, September 24. It began with a speech by Hertling, which showed that he had no conception whatever of the actualities of the situation. He dealt only with political and military generalities, but avoided all live wires, like reconstruction of the government machinery in the direction of parliamentary responsibility and its liberation from the military usurpation. "How could he be expected to speak about such things," asked Theodor Wolff, "since they are repugnant to his inmost soul? Hertling belongs to an epoch whose death knell is now ringing amid the thunders of the cannon." Yet the Junkers were pleased with the speech; one of their organs called it "preeminently statesmanlike."

The Demands of the Socialists

Hertling did not even refer to the "minimum programme" put forth by the Socialists on the previous day as their lowest conditions for taking Cabinet positions in any new government. That programme is a part of the documentary evidence leading to the recent changes in the German government; and, as it has hitherto been printed in the American press only in an abbreviated form it is reproduced here entire. It follows:

(1) Unreserved reaffirmation of the Reichstag's resolution of July 19, 1917, with a declaration of willingness to enter a league of nations having as its basis the

peaceable adjustment of all differences and a general disarmament.

(2) A declaration on the Belgian question; restoration of Belgium, with an agreement as to an indemnity; also restoration of Serbia and Montenegro.

(3) The peace treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest must not be a hindrance to a general peace; immediate organization of a civil administration in all the occupied regions; upon the conclusion of peace all occupied territories to be liberated; democratic representative assemblies must be established at once.

(4) Autonomy for Alsace-Lorraine; universal, secret and direct ballot for all German federal states; Prussian Diet to be dissolved, unless equal suffrage be the immediate outcome of the deliberations of the House of Lords.

(5) A unified imperial government; elimination of irresponsible side governments; appointment of ministers from the Reichstag majority; or persons who represent the policies of the majority parties; repeal of Article IX of the Constitution; the political authorities of the crown and the military authorities must be submitted to the Chancellor before their publication.

(6) Immediate annulment of all orders or provisions through which the right of assembly and the freedom of the press are restricted; the censorship must be applied only to purely military questions (strategy and tactics in the field, troop movements, manufacture of war material); establishment of a political control board over all measures adopted under martial law; abolition of all military institutions that serve for exercising a political influence.

Hertling Mistook Opposition Strength

The next session of the committee showed that Hertling had greatly underestimated the strength of the current that was running against him. He had omitted to define his attitude toward military domination, but the members apply made good his omission. Groeber, Catholic leader and Hertling's chief supporter, complained that General von Stein, the Prussian Minister of War, had issued a secret decree prohibiting meetings of the International Law Society to discuss peace questions, besides

Junkers—The Real Reason for Fear

IT IS the Junkers who are to be feared in making peace with Germany and not the Kaiser, warns "A Diplomat," writing in "The Daily Express," of London. They are the men who run Germany, he says, and they would throw over the Kaiser without compunction if they could thereby keep themselves in power. The article follows:

"The Kaiser is not the man who runs Germany. The Hohenzollerns are not the family which runs Germany. The imperial and kingly caste is not the caste which runs Germany. Germany is run by the Junkers.

"The time approaches when all the Allied powers must be prepared to table their demands and their conditions of peace; it is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the true state of things in Germany should be clearly perceived. It is not sufficient, then, to raise the cries, 'No peace with the Kaiser!' 'No peace with the Hohenzollerns!' 'Neither Kaiser nor Hohenzollern mat-

mentioning other cases of military aggression. Groeber demanded that as the war was now approaching its end, it was necessary to have a "strong government, one that will not permit the reins to be taken out of its hands." He admitted that confidence in the honesty of German policy had been shaken through the measures adopted by other authorities outside of the government. He demanded the immediate withdrawal of von Stein's order, adding that the Reichstag could not permit its own decisions to be disregarded. He also called upon Hertling to crush out the harmful intrigues of the military authorities against his power, like prohibiting public meetings to discuss the Prussian suffrage reform.

Ludendorff the Ruler of Germany

Scheidemann struck harsher notes. He said that the dismissal of Kuehlmann showed that Germany was without a civil government, and demanded that Hertling proceed with energy against the "side government" which was working against the Reichstag's peace programme. Referring to von Stein's secret order, Scheidemann said: "Things cannot go on in this way; and the time has come to say so openly. Ludendorff is ruling, not Hertling. Unprecedented power is yielding to the military district commanders." Scheidemann claimed that the morale of the country was being hopelessly blighted by the stupid measures of the military authorities; they were "clubbing it to fragments." The military power was "growing more and more lordly, while the government becomes weaker and weaker. Away with all side governments!"

Fischbeck, a leader of the Progressives and now become Prussian Minister of Commerce, also complained that the military authorities disregarded the will of the government, and said that the government could not continue without a reform of martial law. "Nobody sins so grievously against the souls of the people," he said, "as the military. . . . The political division of the Supreme Army Command often thwarts the purposes of the imperial government. Cannot the Chancellor secure the homogeneity of his government? Cannot the resistance of the military district

commanders be broken? The government must have the power to carry its will into effect."

Thus pressed by the majority leaders Hertling finally made another brief speech on Thursday, saying that the government had become convinced that some changes of the administration of military law had become necessary and was considering what should be done. Hertling had not yet heard his political death knell sounding. On Saturday, however, Fehrenbach, the President of the Reichstag, went to him in behalf of the majority and practically gave him his marching orders. Hertling accordingly set off at once to see the Kaiser at the Supreme Army Command to place his resignation in his hands.

But Hertling, according to the German papers, did more than that. Although not himself a believer in parliamentary government, he had to make known to the Kaiser that the time had come for the latter to yield up most of his power to the Reichstag. Thus Hertling had to ring out the old, ring in the new; and already on Monday, September 30, the Kaiser issued his decree that laid the ground for the new order in Germany. He consented to the establishment of parliamentary government.

The most correct interpretation of that decree was probably given by the pan-German "Tägliche Rundschau," which wrote: "On this day, September 30, 1918, the old monarchical system based upon the Constitution of the German Empire has abdicated in favor of the parliamentary system."

Some of the developments in connection with the reconstruction of the government tend to confirm that judgment. Thus the appointment of Prince Max as Chancellor was made only after each of the majority parties—Progressives, Catholics and Socialists—had separately declared themselves in his favor, and only after they had adopted a programme of action. The various ministers and under secretaries of state were also selected in the councils of the party leaders.

One little incident may be significant. In the midst of the negotiations von Berg, chief of the Kaiser's Civil Cabinet, appeared upon the scene in order to take part in the

selection of ministers. He wanted, as some of the papers say, to have a Conservative put into the government in order to try to save some remnants of pan-German and Junker ideals. Under the old régime it was one of the big functions of the chief of the Civil Cabinet to act as factotum for the Kaiser in dismissing old and appointing new ministers. But now poor von Berg was to learn that the majority parties had "changed all that." His occupation was gone, and he was unceremoniously sent about his business.

A Cold Shoulder for the Junkers

The Conservative, or Junker, party itself was turned down with equal promptness. After they had announced their surrender to the new order of things by "sacrificing their convictions," as they said, they signified their willingness to take part in organizing a coalition government. This was, however, quietly ignored by the majority, which was in no temper to treat with a party which, as they felt, had brought ruin upon Germany.

But the Conservatives made a big surrender at a still more important point. After having fought the equal and direct ballot in Prussia for years, they at last saw the handwriting on the wall and announced that they would vote for the government's whole suffrage bill. This change in itself will amount to a political revolution; it means the end of the domination of the old Prussian aristocracy in Germany.

The majority treatment of the National Liberals also throws a favorable light upon its spirit and purposes. That party has long been an uncertain element; a strong wing of it, including its leader, Stresemann, has been completely dominated by military ambitions during the war and has stood for big annexations and indemnities. In view of this record the majority parties treated it with marked coolness in establishing the new order. They did not ask it to take part in drawing up the majority's programme, but only submitted it, after having been fixed, to that party to take such action as it might think fit. It also read the handwriting on the wall and accepted the programme. This means that it was allowed to retain the Cabinet positions given to it a year ago when Hertling came in.

Thus, under the blows of Foch at the front, the German people have apparently taken their affairs into their own hands, wresting them from the hands of the great generals who have even controlled the Kaiser. These blows of Foch were necessary; but they supplied the needed impulse. Germany's dreams of victory and conquests had to be transformed into what the "Frankfurter Zeitung" calls a "junk heap of illusions" before the German people could be moved to act.

Finally a German interpretation of this movement may be quoted here from the newspaper just mentioned:

"The Conservatives have been usurpers of power, without any other warrant than the weakness of other. Now these others have been aroused from their sleep through the frightful danger into which the homeland has been brought by the predominance of the politicians of force. These others have the overwhelming majority in Germany, they have the spirit of idealism and humanity, and that spirit is again to take the leadership in Germany against a minority that has been hurled from power and is now to be excluded from it to the utmost."

Perspectives

By Ralph Block

The Rebellion in Paint--Walt Whitman's Grand Refusal

SOMETHING seems to have taken the heart out of the radicals of paint. Every so often the world of reality puts on a show that makes the most extravagant ecstasy of the fancy seem pallid inertia by comparison. Certainly, matched with modern warfare, the modern aesthetics of disintegration seem to be a feeble and a childish thing. At the Daniel Gallery, at 2 West Forty-seventh Street, there is now an exhibition of the brothers and sisters of the new eyesight, a good many of them bearing the assaulting names of 1915 and 1916, but a scrutiny of their wares will not disclose any but the most conventional violence. They are, indeed, radicalism with tongue in cheek; already the grimace of emphasis softens to a grin. It is surely now an amiable kicking up of the heels.

Here is Macdonald Wright, whose aquareles barely retain anything sinister or connotative in their mouldy purples and decaying greens, nor do they present anywhere an absolute and arresting design. So far as design in the naked fact of it is concerned, the most impressive work is Man Ray's "Souvernir," pigmented with bits of hairpin and human hair, though in the end it is, after all, only an obvious bit of common geometry.

Even radicals, having traded one dogma for another, may be expected to have their own kind of good form, and William Zorach's rich water colors probably approximate that standard. Vaguely based upon the landscape of the outside world, they present a satisfying and original organization of line and color, without mass, it is true, but composed, it would appear, out of the imagination of the painter rather than from his invention. However, good form does not stop there. Mr. Lawson pipes a sweet and tender note in this melody of brass, a singer wandering into almost strange lands. Preston Dickinson, in a common enough village scene, shows his virtuosity in contingent and interesting values—a method toward the production of bulk without line. And Samuel Halpert

returns with the Cézanne motif—still the Cézanne—the pears that are really round, the table of blue that is round only as a table is round in a fever, the rugged and robust flowers in a vase. And they are palpable and ponderable flowers, too.

Undeniably, something is gone out of these anecdotes in the absolute. Would it be too much to say that there is no longer any sweet reasonableness in them, that the time has grown past them? The aestheticians who played wet nurse to these movements always aimed to avoid direct reference to the common stuff of living. They dealt grandly and absently in abstractions, but there was almost something frantic in their efforts to keep going at it. No spade was ever called a spade by them. It would be rather "Scheme in a Garden." They played furiously with metaphysical ideas—old Pater's music as the archetype toward which all other arts strove to approach—and so human a thing as the time-spirit did not exist for them: they were the children of no yesterdays but of all to-morrow.

Yet, however suspect anything so common as the time-spirit may have been, they were verily the truest sons and daughters of it. The avoidance itself was a part of the malady that afflicted them. With so much of the war to the rear, it is not difficult to go back and see in retrospect that fevered and unconscious world, and find easily and speedily in it the suppressions and frustrations of human energy that caused the imaginative will to become malformed and to seek its escape in metaphysical romanticism.

Life at that time had something inhuman about it; it was noticeably too full of formulae, efficiencies, rules for complete adjustment of living. And it was satisfied to have it so, blindly, as if the quality of existence ever made room long for the stereotyped phrase or for any complacency at all. The anarchists of art believed they were going through the travail of a new art birth; all they were

doing was to pass through the miseries that accompany all usurpation of normal human energy and aspiration. Beauty was being crowded and pushed and clipped by the rule of machines, by a machine-made life. The individual human character and flavor of things disappeared in the multiplication table of mass organization. Existence and adventure had become a kind of cosmic Cook's tour, perfect schedules in all variations. The machine, the symbol in concrete of physical laws, became the symbol of every sensitive soul's obsession. What more natural than that they should have tried to escape it by expressing it in mechanistic symbolism, or find relief in far-flung Tahitian romanticism?

Machine talk became artist talk. All the geometric jargon Cézanne left behind of the cube, the cone and the cylinder—and all that he left behind of ponderous mass—was picked up for new use. It was physics trying to re-discover itself in some new form of beauty, trying to become aware of itself through the imagination. There was nothing absolute about it, nothing mysteriously interpretative of universal human longing through all time. It was merely a temporary psychosis, arising, as they would all hate to confess, out of the kind of reality they were living in. Now we've come to another place. Humanity has immediate testimony at hand to the fact that life can't be tied down by rules, that it has an inner and necessary movement that keeps it going inevitably, despite all machine subjection.

Plainly, the proven, inescapable anarchy of the quality of existence makes a temporary anarchy of the imagination unnecessary. At least, in the light of all that has been happening these later days, the rebellion of the artists becomes a poor and puny thing.

After all, one may suppose there is something mischievous about a time that forces its human beings to turn aside for fear of facing the facts. A great art has an inner integrity because

the time and people it stems from have an inner integrity. Certainly, it must be a time that gives no cause for concession to the sophistries a subtle and misleading celebration in man is always waiting to impose.

MACAULAY, speaking of Milton, said every genius had something hard at the bottom of his nature, a kind of concrete floor, perhaps, to keep the impacts of the spirit's adventures from penetrating too deeply. The artist's egoism in this sense is protective, a bar against too great seizure of interior riches from without. Few of them carry this hardness into the quality of their attitude. Nietzsche did, although his "Be hard" was said in a voice of frenzy. Walt Whitman was hard in an entirely other sense. He fronted reality at every point calmly and invitingly. In the face of a national period that he described in terms of "the struggle, the traitor, the wily person in office, scrofulous wealth, the surfeit of prosperity, the demonism of greed, the hell of passion, the decay of faith, the long postponement, the fossil-like lethargy, the ceaseless need of revolutions, prophets, thunderstorms, deaths, new projections and invigorations of ideas and men"—in the face of this he was still impassioned by life without being passionate. He was new among poets, because reality at its most immediate point, was for him a thing for immersion and enjoyment. He enjoyed facts so much that he had to make tables of them for sufficient satisfaction. He was hard enough not to be afraid.

The Walt Whitman who is briefly disclosed in "The Letters of Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman," published by Doubleday, Page & Co., is likewise hard, but in a strange and yet inviting sense. The letters are chiefly those of an Englishwoman of literary gifts, a minor figure in the feminist vanguard, who learned of Whitman through William Rossetti's English "selection" of his poems. She was already a mature

woman when the poems came into her hands, and after writing an article in defence of him against the shrill Victorian voices that feared so much human revelation, she began a correspondence that lasted until her death, fifteen years later.

Mrs. Gilchrist loved Walt Whitman passionately. Her early letters are filled with an impetuous worship of the man who was able to call to her so powerfully across the intervening sea. While the letters are chiefly her own, a few of Whitman's are interspersed, and it is clear that the feeling he returned to her was in no degree reciprocal. The letters he wrote to her and her own reaction to them both illuminate his reluctance to engage in so violent and complete a deliverance of his essential self as a love affair with her would have to become. It was as if he feared the surrender of the inner citadel to any power so avid of the color of his soul, so absorbing of his quality. The editor of the volume, Thomas B. Harned, who was one of Whitman's literary executors, says that the poet's affections were elsewhere engaged. Yet his approach to Mrs. Gilchrist is so sensitive and delicate, so careful of her feelings without yielding his own, that there comes out of this volume a sense of conscious discrimination against the tremendous fact of personal passion itself.

If he was hard, with a kind of interior hardness, he did not make any formula about his feeling for her. He characterized it with the richness and variety of which only such a poet was capable when he said of her to Horace Traubel: "I have that sort of feeling about her which cannot easily be spoken of . . . love (strong, personal love, too), reverence, respect—you see, it won't go into words: all the words are weak and formal." And later, "Rossetti mentions Mrs. Gilchrist. Well, he had a right to—almost as much right as I had: a sort of brother's right: she was his friend, she was more than my friend. I feel like Hamlet when he said forty thousand brothers could not feel what he felt for Ophelia."

He may have been afraid to take from her; he did not fear to give.

Hun Plots Stir the Argentine

THE Argentine Republic has become strongly pro-Ally, according to the Buenos Ayres correspondent of "The Times," of London, but the Germans work there most industriously in subterranean fashion, with two objects in view: First, building up their commercial stocks and preparing for after-the-war trade despite the black list; and, second, inciting strikes and interfering with communications to prevent the going forward of supplies to the Allies. "The Times" correspondent says:

"When brought into contact with the everyday life of Buenos Ayres, it is difficult to believe that one is breathing a neutral atmosphere. Allied flags are everywhere; practically the entire press rejoices with open enthusiasm at the news of the Allied victory, and July 14 was marked by a gigantic procession, which passed along profusely beflagged streets, and which occupied more than half an hour in passing a given point. To-day there are Argentine girls in the streets of this capital selling flowers for the benefit of the Allied wounded. It is, I believe, one of the first experiments in the science of 'flag days,' but it may be taken for granted that it will not be the last.

"When the news first arrived here of the dramatic turn of fortune on the Marne and the rolling back of the Hun forces I was walking down the Calle Florida, the principal street of Buenos Ayres. Newspaper boys were shouting the latest developments with enthusiasm, and at a corner of a street the events were being chalked up on a large blackboard. It might have been a victory for the Argentine cause. As a matter of fact, every Argentine in that crowded street—and with sufficiently good reason—was convinced on that point. They clapped each other on the back, and waved their hats, and on every side were faces that were quite honestly radiant.

"It was only one of innumerable episodes of the kind. In Buenos Ayres, at all events, it is difficult to realize that one is in the midst of a people who are officially neutral. This applies, at all events, to the ethics of ordinary life and to the surface of the public existence. But the German is here. At odd spots his traces are discernible ever above ground. His principal club, burned and gutted by a justly indignant crowd, has been rebuilt; here and there, but rarely, you may catch cautiously spoken phrases in German, and at three or four street corners are the sellers of the German newspapers, who draw out—some imagine shamefacedly—the words 'Tagblatt' and 'La Union.' They are plain featured gentry, of the type that is usually associated with the caricatures of the German race. So much so that one wonders why their employers, arch experts in the art of propaganda, have not chosen representatives of a more sympathetic exterior. Nevertheless, they are heroic in a sordid fashion. For they suffer from a marked lack of popularity, and their voices persist with a fatigued sound. Nevertheless, they are there, and they are to be reckoned with in the life of Buenos Ayres.

"In Buenos Ayres—whatever may be the case in some of the outer provinces—there is very little more than this that meets the eye of the casual stroller through the streets. Nevertheless, the German is here in his thousands. He is working like a mole, and his energy is none the less great for being subterranean. His policy has two main ends—to obtain by hook or by crook those goods which the operation of the black list is supposed to bar from his doors, and to destroy the internal communications of the country in the hope that the supplies of meat and grain may be prevented from leaving the Argentine shores and thus fail to reach the depots of the Allies in France.

"In the former endeavor it is necessary for the German to employ a certain number of neutral agents, the goods passing from one hand to another until it is reasonable to suppose that their tracks have been lost by those bona fide British and neutral firms to whom the goods were consigned in the first instance. That the attempts have been fairly successful is attested by the regrettable fact that many of the German warehouses that in theory should be empty are only too amply stocked with the goods that enable them to continue their businesses in being. Against this it must be said that the net is being drawn tighter, and that the difficulties in smuggling goods through its meshes are steadily increasing.

"In the latter attempt the advantages go to a certain point have naturally lain with the Germans, since by the outlay of a certain amount of money it is sufficiently easy to stir up strife and strike in any part of the world, providing the methods of the agitators be unscrupulous enough. Here in the progressive republics of South America the strike was a weapon which the Germans found ready to their hand, since the labor conditions in the large towns have much in common with those in many parts of Europe. It is not to be denied that much inconvenience and loss has been incurred by this means. Nevertheless, the general result is not to be compared with the calamity which might have been brought about had the sentiments of the Argentine people been less benevolently neutral. At it is, the authorities are now awakening to the fact that this engineering of strife with the idea of damaging British communications is a process which cannot be attempted without the gravest danger to the general prosperity of Argentina."